

STAND FIRM

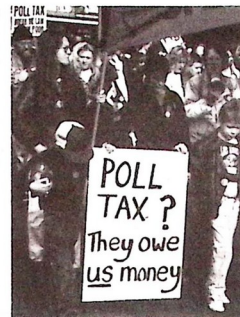
NO.5 JANUARY 1991 PAPER OF THE TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEFENDANTS' CAMPAIGN

This winter the Campaign has moved forward on all fronts - it has been a challenging period, rewarding but also exhausting!

THE OCTOBER 20th PROTESTS

October 20th was a great show of anti-poll tax strength, 25 - 30,000 attending the London APT March (called by the TSDC and organised by the London APT Federation), and with 2,000 and 3,500 taking part in the 2 TSDC solidarity feeder marches and pickets before and after. The movement was back on the streets and clearly supporting the March 31st defendants and prisoners.

Our Legal Back-up and Monitoring system (including video crews) for the day's events was put to the test by the police attack at Brixton Jail, and worked magnificently. We were able to log and support all 120 arrested and organise an immediate and successful press conference (supporting the demonstrators and attacking police violence), and publish a detailed Report



GRANTHAM SOLIDARITY

The first jailing of a non-payer (for 21 days) in December led to frenetic activity and co-operation by the TSDC, the ABAPTF and above all the local APTU (Grantham) who called a national demonstration for 15th December in the town. With 4 days notice, TSDC provided full, effective, legal back-up and monitoring for the 800 marchers and the later 100-strong prison picket. We also mobilised for the event, produced a special TSDC Grantham Bulletin, and provided speakers at rallies before and after.

1991 SERIOUS TRIALS

Crown Court cases and March 31st 'riot' trials at the Old Bailey have now started, and involve a great deal of preparation and support.

March 23rd - National Anti-Poll Tax Demonstration, Central London

We are already planning and preparing an effective Legal Back-up System for the day, and also of course to ensure there will be full publicity and solidarity for all the APT defendants and prisoners.

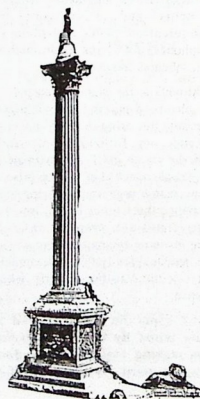
booklet within a week. We organised pickets of the court hearings for the next fortnight.

This was enormous progress all round from the aftermath of March 31st, and to a great extent succeeded in embarrassing and discrediting the media and authorities, and their attempts to smear and criminalise the movement.

DEFENCE WORK

Following the above events, dozens of new defendants began to attend meetings and visit our office (now staffed full time by volunteers) to help or get support. Our Oct 20th video evidence was made available for viewing and for use in trials. We needed to monitor 15 - 20 hearings weekly up to the end of the year, including of course March 31st trials. There were some successes, but crown court appearances meant some heavy sentences also.

Meanwhile the Prisoners Group was set up and has ensured maximum, systematic support for all those inside and regular updated details of those inside distributed. A special tribute must be made to support campaigns in Holland and Italy for dutch and Italian prisoners, arrested at Brixton and held on remand - within a month, 15 benefits were organised, £10,000 raised as surety, and protests held.



CAMPAIGN NEWS

Cont. from
Front Page

AFFILIATIONS

After Oct 20th support for the Campaign has grown a lot with scores of new affiliations - obviously from APTUs, but also notably from labour movement bodies, and organisations abroad. We've raised about £15,000 of our £50,000 target so far.

THE ANTI-POLL TAX
MOVEMENT

Naturally we rely on the regional and national federations, the '3D' independent APT network, and affiliated APTs to spread TSDC information. It was a major issue at the November ABAPTF national conference where Federation officials agreed to distribute the special TSDC Conference Packs we'd prepared for delegates, but unfortunately and inexcusably opposed ABAPTF affiliation to the Campaign and other constructive proposals for working together.

National Solidarity
Conference

We are now working with other defence campaigns, black and Irish organisations, civil liberties groups and labour movement bodies to publicise and organise the February 9th Conference. We'll also be producing and circulating a Report of this event.

We hope we are achieving some of what is needed - we recognise that none of us can be complacent about the tasks on the way to victory in the APT struggle, and also to defend the right to demonstrate. Please contact us with your thoughts and ideas - we don't pretend to have all the answers!

We call on all supporters to affiliate, publicise and most importantly participate in local and national defence work, and the TSDC.

THE OCTOBER 20th
PROTESTS

October 20th saw the first big anti-poll tax demonstration in London since the huge demonstration and 'Battle of Trafalgar' on March 31st last year. On August 4th at a TSDC National Defendants' Meeting, it was decided to initiate a London APT march on Oct 20th, and to organise events to support all those arrested and imprisoned after March 31st. This was to be accompanied by two International Days Of Action, 19/20 October..

It was agreed that it was necessary to demonstrate clearly that we cannot let our demonstrations be provoked and brutally attacked by the police, a blatantly political attempt by the state to drive us off the streets and frighten others away from demonstrating freely. October 20th showed that the government and their police lackeys have failed to deter us - their move has backfired and has simply created more resistance.

The TSDC organised two specific events on the day highlighting the plight of those arrested and imprisoned after March 31st, and to give the Anti-Poll Tax movement the opportunity to show solidarity with the defendants. Activists began early with a 1500-strong lively and noisy picket of Horseferry magistrates at 10.00am, scene of many a show trial and poll tax summons (largest court picket for 40 years).

A TSDC feeder march from the court met up with the large demonstration in Kennington park organised by the London Federations, and marched on to a rally of over 20,000 people in Brockwell park, Brixton. From the rally 3,500 demonstrators continued onto a second picket at Brixton prison where four anti-poll tax protesters were being imprisoned - the biggest prison demo in 20 years.

The events which followed clearly showed once again the lengths to which the state and police will go to attempt to criminalise and attack the anti-poll tax movement. The TSDC organised a legal Back-up and monitoring system to coordinate and support the marches and pickets. Its purpose was to provide legal information before the march, legal support in case of arrests (and subsequent back-up), and most importantly, 60 volunteers to carry this out and monitor police tactics. To do

TSDC: OPEN MEETINGS WEEKLY, WEDNESDAYS, 7pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. London WC1. All welcome.

STOP PRESS
No to the Gulf War:
Saturday 12th January - over 100,000 marched to Trafalgar Square against east over control of the gulf oil fields. Anger and oppositions is also growing to government plans to seize hospital beds, ban some strikes and demos, force people into the army and round up 'subversives'. We have to pledge to continue our basic struggles against the poll tax and all other oppressive unfair and unjust laws and practices.

this the volunteers used still and video cameras, extensive note-taking, witness statements and a network of communication via cell-phones, megaphones, a 48 hour coordination office, solicitors and doctors.

Throughout the main march police were observed making provocative comments, adopting a high profile presence, and following protesters within the march itself. Approximately 3500 people marched to Brixton prison. Despite march organisers having met with police three times to confirm the routes, times and preparations, and having given us assurances there would be no 'rematch' for Trafalgar Square, this in fact seemed to be exactly what happened.

At 4.15pm the march arrived at Brixton prison. By 4.30 pm, the police began making violent and random arrests; the crowd was now hemmed-in

on three sides, riot police could be seen massing in side streets and some protesters left. At 4.57 pm about 50 riot police charged into the now surrounded crowd, batoning people indiscriminately. Megaphones were taken from TSDC stewards.

From this point onwards, riot and uniformed police, supported by vans moved in making violent arrests, forced marchers into Brixton centre where marchers were again hemmed-in and attacked. The tube station was closed. This continued and people were harassed, assaulted and force-marched for a mile down Brixton road to Oval tube station.

A PRE-PLANNED ATTACK!

Why did the police decide to violently attack a demonstration one hour before it was due to end? Why was no attempt made to enable people to peacefully disperse? Clearly the police had planned and prepared to provoke and attack, selecting the Brixton picket. The decision to disperse the picket took place almost immediately after people had arrived. Police withdrew liaison officers, the march was prevented from dispersing peacefully and (as we discovered later) Horseferry court had been black-booked in advance for October 22nd. Deployments of at least 3,000 police, the use of riot squads and vans, indicate military-style preparations for war or, in the jargon, 'a serious public order situation'. Whose order?! 120 people were arrested mostly on 'public order' charges.

OUR RESPONSE

Following October 20th two press conferences were held by TSDC to present a coherent and truthful account of the day's events, in the light of the hundreds of witness statements, video film and legal volunteer reports. The first was held the next day, with a large press attendance. TSDC gave a detailed chronology of what happened, the tactics used by the police, eye-witness accounts by participants including those injured. The second press conference presented a preliminary report and showed a video-film of the prison picket, which was subsequently shown on television news.

This new approach to the media and press did much to counter the obvious

lies, propaganda and media crap which we saw after March 31st, and put the Met. Police on the defensive. Obviously this approach won't prevent the media deliberately putting over police and government versions of events; however it is important that we not only demonstrate against the poll tax but also against the attempts to deny us our right to demonstrate free of police attacks. The police may have backed down on their threat to ban future marches but they hope to use 'public order' legislation as a means of controlling popular dissent.

Much can be learnt from October 20th, not least our renewed resistance to oppressive legislation and policing. The legal support system and a coordinated approach to the media gave us the chance to defend our right to demonstrate. However, to give effective legal support for the coming demonstration in central London on March 23rd 1991, we need to work with all anti-poll tax groups, unions and federations so that every group of marchers is aware of collectively defending each other and providing coordinated legal support on the scale that will be needed.

From the outset it was agreed that stewarding demonstrations must be itself a democratic process, especially by

PRISONERS LETTERS

Dear TSDC,

How can I express my gratitude to the new cabinet for the early gift of a New Years Honour (49 days in jail, Assault, Ed) in recognition of the very occasional objections raised by myself Re; The Community Charge?

It was plain from the start of the trial that the State had gone to great lengths in fabricating an extraordinary tapestry of intrigue out of an every day Oxford Street scene. I can only send my sympathies to the chief prosecution witness for any traumas he might have suffered during the case and hope that his conscience is not too trampled to stand up to my appeal. It was great to have many friends and supporters at court throughout - Only sorry that it ended up with a guilty verdict and a half-dozen probationary cops muscling in on the gallery.

I was on my way to the Scrubs but it was full house there so I find that I'm here at Litchmere. It seems to have dodged the suicide statistics that have plagued Brixton and elsewhere this year and it's actually possible to live 2 to a cell plus a fair bit of association. Friends visited on Friday and TSDC organised a radio and newspapers. With help like this I can fight the isolation that I am supposed to accept in place of the right to protest at the brutal arrest of a man on the 31st!

Greetings, yuletide or not, to all other Poll Tax hostages - Stick together on the wrong side of the wire - share what limited comforts come your way - send reports to the TSDC office (like, what kind of facilities do they have for helicopters?). And help each other in the struggle against the systematic criminalisation of the poor. There are 10's of thousands of people outside continuing the fight. P.S. How are they going to make room for all the deserters that are bound to be charter-shipped back from the Gulf?

Alistair Mitchell

demonstrators themselves, and that stewards were not there to control protesters (as we have seen the police's idea of 'public order' enforces that 'control'), but rather to give coordinated support, legal liaison and to facilitate effective communication on actions such as marches and pickets.

INTERNATIONAL
SOLIDARITY

The TSDC also initiated 2 days of international action (19/20th October) in support of poll tax defendants. The response was heartening, with actions in many countries including Scotland, France, Poland, Switzerland, Germany, Netherlands, Greece, Norway and Australia. The international support the defendants received shows how widely known the anti-poll tax movement has become.

As part of the struggle to get rid of the hated tax, demonstrations are vital. They show us the confidence and strength of our movement and show how determined we are to make our voices heard.

COURT CIRCULAR

Since the last newsletter courts have been continuing to persecute defendants from the Battle of Trafalgar, and of course the victims of the police attack upon our picket of Brixton Prison are now being treated to a dose of judicial nastiness. Occasionally the truth about the police violence, lying and incompetence has been exposed in the courtroom.

In one case a cop claimed to have seen a protestor throw a brick through a window of the South Africa Airways building. The cop admitted that he was 80 yards away in near darkness! He also admitted that he identified the wrong building!

This was too much even for Mrs Stipendary Pamela Long, who had to acquit the protestor and his friend who had tried to stop his unjust arrest. Random arrest and the brutality of PC Tony Egan of the Territorial Support Group [the SPG with a new name!] were uncovered during the trial of Roy Hanney. The jury were so convinced of Roy's innocence that they returned a not guilty verdict before listening to all the speeches and the summing up.

Elsewhere the courts have been displaying a huge amount of inconsistency in sentencing, in contrast to their consistency in always believing the police! Some people have been treated 'leniently' with probation and community service orders and the like. Other magistrates, such as Campbell in Marlborough Street and Romner in Clerkenwell have been following in the vindictive footsteps of Roger Davies the nastiest beak in the Horseferry Road Magistrates court, and have sent people to prison for several weeks on the [not very convincing] words of the police.

The message from us should continue to be that all charges should be dropped and that the defence of our demonstrations against police attack is no offence!

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE POLL TAX



**March 23rd,
Central London**

The APT movement is calling a massive national protest march against the Poll Tax to celebrate a year of non-payment in England and Wales, 2 yrs in Scotland - and to show total solidarity with those arrested and imprisoned following the mammoth 200,000 strong demonstration on March 31st 1990.

Preparations are underway to organise and publicise this, and both Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square have been booked and various routes are being considered.

We in the TSDC will be working to enable the movement to express its full solidarity with all the defendants, and also its determination to defend the right to demonstrate. As agreed unanimously at the November All Britain APTF national conference, this event will go ahead **WHATEVER** the response of the authorities.

Legal Back-Up

The TSDC will be co-ordinating a comprehensive Legal Back-Up and Monitoring system. This will ensure that every participant gets the maximum possible practical support and that the whole police operation is subject to public scrutiny.

What Local APTUs and Federations should do

Organisation and solidarity are our strength, and needs to be discussed straight away. Every contingent should:

- a) choose your own stewards to help on the day (not to police the

demonstration but to protect it)

- b) contain at least one First Aider

- c) choose 2 Legal Liaison Volunteers (LLVs) to co-ordinate with the Legal Back-Up system (distribute bust cards, get names of anyone arrested and witnesses, monitor police movements/aggression, write a report to send in etc).

We will establish a full Legal Co-ordination Office and a bank of available solicitors etc, as well as mobile LLVs. Your group's liaison with this is essential for the welfare of all marchers. Other details will follow.....

Lets also pledge to look out for, and care for, all the people who join our protest but are not part of any contingent and may therefore feel isolated.

**LET'S MAKE THIS A
MASSIVE SHOW OF OUR
SOLIDARITY AND
DETERMINATION TO
FIGHT ON TILL THE
GOVERNMENT'S POLL
TAX IS ABOLISHED, AND
AN AMNESTY IS
DECLARED FOR ALL
NON-PAYERS AND ALL
ARRESTED AND
IMPRISONED ANTI-POLL
TAX DEFENDANTS.**

Every movement for justice must expect to come up against State harassment and repression. To remain effective it must then be able to assure all those who participate in its protests that, if arrested, they will properly defended - legally, politically and financially. In our struggle against the Government's Poll Tax we need to stand by anyone nicked on our street demonstrations, sit-ins, confrontations with bailiffs or whatever.

The recent growth of APT Defence Campaigns (see below) around the country is an inevitable, encouraging and exciting development and one that should be emulated wherever necessary whether following a specific event, or for general defence in a locality/region. The following are some of the Campaigns we have had some contacts with and support:

AVON DEFENDANTS CAMPAIGN - c/o Avon Federation, 84 Colston St, Bristol (0272 255504) To defend any APT defendant (or anyone harassed or injured) in the region.

COLCHESTER 17 DEFENCE CAMPAIGN - c/o CAPTU, AEU Hall, Barrack St, Colchester (0206 863211) Arrested after police violence against 2,000-strong local demo (17/3/1990). Serious charges including 'riot'.

GLASGOW 8 DEFENCE CAMPAIGN - c/o Strathclyde Fed (041 552 1179) Arrested during occupation of DSS in protest against benefits arrears.

GRANTHAM 'FREE BRYAN WRIGHT' CAMPAIGN - c/o GAPTU, 11 Queen St, Grantham (0476 75951) First non-payer jailed (21 days). Called 1,000-strong national demo.

HACKNEY COMMUNITY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION - c/o The Family Centre, 501 Kingsland Rd, E8 London (071 249 0193) General defence organisation established some years back. Monitors local APT protests and defends those arrested.

THE HARINGEY ELEVEN - c/o HAPTU, 72 West Green Rd, London N15 (081 802 9804) Arrested after police attack on part of 700+ strong demo blocking road outside Civic Centre (5/3/90). 9 acquitted after

DEFENDING OURSELVES

Other APT Defence Campaigns

collective defence - other fines paid by HAPTU fundraising.

LOTHIAN 17 DEFENCE CAMPAIGN - c/o SNAPTG, 24 Dean Pk St, Edinburgh (031 332 7547) Nov '89 occupation of Sheriffs Officers HQ. 9 charged. 4 guilty. Fines paid by fundraising.

NEWCASTLE DEFENCE CAMPAIGN - c/o 091 274 4584 12 arrested on local demo in November '90

NORTHAMPTON 20 LEGAL DEFENCE FUND - c/o 117 Station St, Loughborough, Leics (0509 237372) 20 people from many different regions occupied Boro Treasurer's Office to defend pensioner threatened with jail. Trial 14.1.90

NORTH WEST TSDC - c/o P.O. BOX 59, Manchester M16 (061 232 9311) General regional defence of APT defendants and right to demonstrate.

NOTTINGHAM DEFENCE FUND c/o Box NDF, 72 Radford Rd, Hyson Green, Nottingham. Set up after March 31st to defend all arrested on local and national demos in 1990 and in the future.

SUSSEX POLL TAX RESISTERS SUPPORT FUND - c/o 6 Tilbury Place, Brighton SX (0273 671213) Set up after March 31st to support any APT defendants in the region, from local or national events.

We are committed to sharing (two-way) our experience and knowledge with all Campaigns and those wishing to set them up. Please contact us.

SETTING UP CAMPAIGNS

Its our experience that, apart from the TSDC, there are two main types of DCs - to support those arrested a) in specific protests b) over a period in a

locality/region. Whilst every Campaign is different in specifics, there are general points we'd like to make (not hard and fast rules):

Campaigns are effective if open to all, run collectively, are autonomous with their own funds, and where the basic policies, demands and decisions are made by DEFENDANTS (who have individual and collective veto where appropriate).

They should provide unconditional legal, moral, political, practical, financial support to every defendant and prisoner, and should receive unconditional support from local APTUs/Fs. Obviously much needs to be said about legal casework and other practicalities (court monitoring, instructing solicitors, maintaining contacts with all defendants and keeping them involved, witnesses, press, organising protests, line of defence, welfare needs, allocating funds etc), much of which we are learning as we go along.

For this reason there will be a specific Workshop at our NATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE on Feb 9th: 'Organising Defence Campaigns - short and long term objectives'. We welcome everyone to attend, especially those in existing DCs.

CONCLUSIONS

The greatest insurance we have against repression is our solidarity. Along with practical support there should be public and angry protests and of course a public determination to continue the struggle and to demonstrate, whatever violence and intimidation the authorities and police employ.

**SOLIDARITY AGAINST
POLICE ATTACKS
SELF-DEFENCE IS NO OFFENCE
DROP ALL THE CHARGES**

WE'RE WINNING



The non-payment campaign is causing a government Crisis. The Poll Tax is extortionate, unfair and unworkable. The movement against it has drawn hundreds of thousands of people into political activity for the first time in their lives, and millions into conflict with enforcement measures.

The non-payment campaign is now one of the largest movements of civil disobedience in British history. In December, Scots local authority reps held a crisis meeting with the Minister of State: "It's about time the Government realised the system has broken down"... "the picture is going from bad to worse"... "the worry is that public resistance to the tax will get stronger - the higher the bills the greater the problems and more tax dodgers. And this is the easiest tax to dodge"... "those billed seem to think they might benefit from a non-payment amnesty"... etc. etc. A week later Thatcher had been forced to resign, and Poll Tax "reform" was promised.

Meanwhile, the authorities, having lost all the arguments, have only fear and lies to resort to. Fear - attacks on our protests (and threats of future bans), threats of and use of courts, bailiffs and even jail against determined non-payers. Lies - nasty propaganda to smear non-payers for "causing high Poll Tax levels and cuts in services"... the very things people are rightly responding to and fighting against! These threats and lies show the authorities' weakness, not strength, but will still have some effect though until we show that they are empty and baseless.

But just as important, we shouldn't underestimate the effect of this in

discouraging non-payers from actively joining APT groups/events. For whilst there are thousands of local groups, after 2 years (3 in Scotland) the movement (the local APTs, the federations, events, strategy, etc.) is tending to get set in its ways, relying on a layer of now-experienced activists.

GET ACTIVE

Hence at this time a key task for all of us is the involvement of people in all activities and at every level, and to encourage the new ideas, energy, initiative and diversity this inevitably means. Another task is for the movement to maintain and increase our presence in the streets, our neighborhoods and workplaces. Defence Campaigns like the TSDC have been crucial in overcoming people's fear, defending the right to demonstrate, and in maintaining the unity of the movement. In fact, possibly the single most important political event of last year - the "Battle of Trafalgar", was turned by the demonstrators, the movement and the TSDC, against the Government and helped to break their unity, not ours in the end.

There's a long way to go yet in this titanic struggle and we all need to gear ourselves up for more future threats, lies, bogus "reforms" and promises and bribery before the elections.

WE ARE WINNING — and our guarantee of victory is to stand firm on all fronts and to continue to demand the complete abolition of the Tax, a total debts amnesty for non-payers, and the release of all Poll Tax prisoners.

LIFE AFTER DEBT

The Poll Tax campaign has shown the links with opposition to other disgusting aspects of this society - the class divide, the arrogance and subservience of the police, courts and media, the lack of any local community control over local decisions, etc. It has greatly strengthened the struggle for the right to basic needs and services for all. It is helping regenerate community self-organisation, solidarity, and the confidence to stand up to those bodies which think they are so powerful but which we are now realising are helpless in the face of determined mass working-class opposition and non-cooperation. These struggles are ongoing, and by defeating the Poll Tax we will have shifted the balance of power and questioned whether we need "Them" at all.

OUR HISTORY

Like the 1381 Peasants Revolt, the 1640's English revolution, the Luddites and the Chartists and late 19th Century strikes, like the syndicalist industrial revolt 1910-1914, the suffragettes, unemployed struggles in the 30's, like the post-war housing occupations and mass strikes, 60's youth revolts and cultural upheaval, the women's movement, resistance in the North of Ireland and the 70's prison sit-ins... and like the 78/9 winter of discontent, the '81/'85 inner-city uprisings of black people and youth in general, the miner's strike '84/5 (and 1926) and so on... like all these, the anti-poll tax struggle is our history and will be remembered and referred to time and time again. Let's build on it, let's create solidarity networks and community self-defence, and let's not forget that the struggle will continue until a decent society is created, run by and for ordinary people, the whole world over.

SOLIDARITY AGAINST POLICE ATTACKS

— sharing our experiences

In recent years we've witnessed increasing police attacks and controls on protests, pickets and sections of our community, backed up by new laws (Public Order Act, Employment Act etc).

The authorities are trying to criminalise any effective opposition.

At the same time inner city working-class communities, above all black people, have been subjected to violent and paramilitary policing. This is aimed at trying to impress upon those who bear the brunt of economic and social hardship and oppression that any fightback will be isolated and stifled.

FIGHTBACK

However, throughout the '80s, industrial and community struggles of all kinds have continued - inner city street revolts, miners' and printworkers' strikes, anti-fascist and anti-racist protests, and demonstrations by a wide range of movements and groups. Those involved have had to face systematic police harassment, reinforced by media indifference or hostility.

But with the rise of mass civil disobedience against the Poll Tax, an atmosphere of greater confidence and solidarity has begun to spread throughout the country and across sections of the community.

We in the TSDC, which was formed out of one of the biggest demonstrations and angriest street conflicts ever seen in this country, have tried to analyse Government policy and police tactics. When our 3,500-strong Brixton Jail demonstration on October 20th was broken up by a pre-planned police attack and followed by calls from police chiefs and politicians for bans on future APT

protests, it became clear that the right to demonstrate was under threat again and even more seriously.

A SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

As this was now an essential issue beyond just the APT movement, and spurred on by a need to involve TSDC affiliated bodies especially, we decided to call a conference to bring together those people, groups and movements who've experienced modern police methods and who've had to fight for their rights.

After discussion with many groups we decided to extend the purpose of the conference to encompass the whole idea of policing and our response, of self-organisation and self-defence. (See AGENDA below).

We've had a great response - with other defence campaigns, Black and

Irish organisations, students unions, trades unions and trades councils, students unions, the NCCL (Liberty), and of course APT federations all publicising the event.

We sincerely hope for the maximum participation of delegates and activists present, and that as well as informed debate there will be some practical conclusions and initiatives to help us defend ourselves from future State aggression.

The conference will end with a Solidarity Pledge and a full Report will be compiled for widespread distribution afterwards.

WE URGE YOU OR YOUR ORGANISATION TO ATTEND ON FEB 9th (£5 per delegate, £2 individual, free to defendants... in advance if possible, or at the door - PLEASE BOOK CRECHE IN ADVANCE).

NATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE AGAINST POLICE ATTACKS

Saturday February 9th, 11 am — 5 pm
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1

AGENDA

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 11.00 | Registration: Videos, Refreshment |
| 11.30 | Open Platform |
| 12.00 | Introduction and speeches |
| 1.00 | Fighting Back — Our experiences |
| | Workshops: Black struggles: self-organisation & self-defence |
| | Labour movement — defending strikes & picketing |
| | Irish solidarity movement — across the water & here |
| | Anti-Poll Tax campaign — mass civil disobedience |
| | Lesbian & Gay Community & police harassment |
| 2.00 | Break |
| 2.30 | Fighting Back — Organising to defend ourselves |
| | Workshops: Organising Defence Campaigns - Short and long term objectives |
| | Legal Back-up & monitoring protests and the police |
| | Organising protests — tactics |
| | Supporting prisoners |
| 4.00 | Plenary session |
| | Report-backs from workshops and conclusions |
| | Preparing for the March 23rd national anti-poll tax demonstration |
| | Pledge of solidarity and determination to fight on despite police harassment and attacks |

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The following is a translation of a press release put out by a group of french activists who organised the occupation of the British Embassy in Lyon on Thursday 18th October in solidarity with anti-poll tax campaigners and Trafalgar Square defendants. About 30 people occupied the embassy and flew a banner inscribed: "STOP POLL TAX. AMNISTIE POUR LES MANIFESTANTS DE TRAFALGAR SQUARE". All the occupiers managed to escape being arrested by the police who eventually managed to re-take the building. The translation is the original one done by the French comrades. It doesn't do justice to the original french and is slightly obscure in parts but we have left it as it is rather than risk changing the original meaning.



PRESS RELEASE

Thatcher, who make us familiar to several jokes: the Falklands war, the death of Irish hunger strikers, the suppression of National Wealth, of miners (etc...), has just found, as a last, bloody trick, the institution of a new tax: THE POLL TAX!

That notorious comic might like Robin Hood and was directly inspired by him with a small difference: this time it's rob from the poor to give rich!

The Poll Tax's a home [local?] Tax based on people and not on housing anymore. That means, for example:

ten persons on a flat'll pay ten times more than the Prince Charles in his manor. Funny, isn't it?

The lower classes (seeing evil everywhere) don't give up to struggle. The "Jacquerie", that began more than a year ago in Scotland, is spreading all over the country: sacking of castles (council houses [halls?]), attack of bailiffs and a fierce battle with the Queen's Archers.

One of the biggest battle of this troubled times was the battle of Trafalgar Square! On one side 200 000 scrfs, on the other side the servicemen: rank and file troopers and cavalry. As a result: one of the biggest riot that had ever happened in England had wrecked the London inner city.

Without understanding their stake, the villains are calling for a new demo for the 20th October in London Town. And, hear about it, gay newsmongers, during these events there's been a savage repression! Beyond the bludgeoning, more than 500 "yokels" were jailed.

But, now, let's stop laughing! The denouncement was instated as a civic duty, the press published the demonstrators photos with a hotline to identify them and, more than six months later, the police keep prosecuting the rioters or people supposed to be...

Facing the capitalistic exchange, and the police repression inside states of Europa, we oppose our universal solidarity between victims of the same system. That's the reason why we give unconditional support to the English people's claims:

- Releasing of all prisoners
- Dropping of all charges
- Abolition of the Poll Tax

P.S. Talking about riots; one might be foolish, mayor or social worker to be amazed by what happened in London or in Vaulx-en-Velin (i.e. the latest riot in France). Proportionally, the same causes are producing the

same effects. To drive back people in a smaller and smaller places, to give them the choice between work and boredom, to let them as a future, to become cops or gangsters, to make to have the money to pay the last bill to get, as entertainment, the consumption in supermarket or in night clubs (if they let you enter inside); it's exposing slowly but surely to the falling of a climbing tower or that a wealthy area as the West End turn to ashes.

Robin Hood's friends
Lyon on 18.10.90

ANTI POLL TAX WORK IN NORWAY

In support of Poll Tax prisoners, some people in Oslo have made the Norwegian Anti Poll Tax Union (NAPU). 19 October, on the international action day against Poll Tax, NAPU organised a demonstration against the Poll Tax outside the British embassy.

About 150 persons participated in the demo and a representative for NAPU delivered a protest letter against the British parliament and the British Department of Environment, who is responsible for the Poll Tax. Different groups from the left wing participated in the demo and a representative of the Renovation Service Workers Union talked about the Thatcherism and the reactionary Thatcher-politics in the city council in Oslo. Many of the same things are happening in Oslo. The unemployment in Oslo is getting larger, everything is getting privatised and sold off to private companies. Thatcherism is the idol of the chairman and the city council of Oslo! After the demo there was a discussion meeting at Blitz about the Poll Tax, a video from the Poll Tax riot was to be shown but someone had stolen it. It was shown before a support concert for the TSDC at Blitz some weeks later.

from: Blitz Newsletter,
December 1990.

BLOODY SUNDAY

The Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign has vowed to fight any attempt by the powers that be to ban street protests against the poll tax. In our fight for the right to demonstrate we have to remember that we are not the first movement to face banning orders from the state. This article is hopefully the first of many giving about other movements that have come into conflict with this State over the right to demonstrate.

This month sees the 19th anniversary of one of the most brutal suppressions of an unarmed street protest by state security forces since WWII. The name of this episode, although rarely heard in the media, still returns sporadically to haunt those who would have us believe that this State can criticize other governments that use their armed forces to open fire on popular demonstrations.

Bloody Sunday is a name that will be vaguely familiar to many and yet it would not be surprising if many are unable to say exactly what actually happened on 30 January 1972 in Derry, given the veil of silence which has covered this event for so long. The chain of events which led to Bloody Sunday started in 1968 with the Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Movement was formed to fight the sectarian discrimination enshrined in Northern Ireland law.

The demands of the Civil Rights Movement included the introduction of "One man, one vote", an end to discrimination in housing and employment, and the repeal of the Special Powers Act (of which a South African Law and Order minister once said that he'd exchange the entire apartheid system for just one of the Act's 10 sections).

Uncontroversial as these demands may seem, peaceful protests by the CRM were repeatedly broken up by attacks by police, auxiliaries and mobs of loyalist reactionaries influenced by the ravings of the "Reverend" Ian Paisley. Eventually, in their desperation to crush the Civil Rights Movement, these forces resorted to directly attacking nationalist communities by rampaging through their areas.

This brought an end to the Civil Rights Movement as a peaceful protest movement. The nationalist community reacted to these invasions by building barricades and resisting the police, mainly with bricks and petrol bombs. When the police were unable to crush this resistance the British government sent in the troops to "aid the

civil authority". This ushered in a short time of relative peace as people exhausted by the traumatic struggles, tried to recuperate and waited to see what changes direct British intervention would bring. However by the early summer of 1971 a number of incidents involving the army had changed people's perceptions and militancy was again on the rise.

In August the Stormont Government introduced internment without charge or trial in an attempt to crush dissent. Immediately on the introduction of internment, the Stormont premier, Brian Faulkner, declared a 12 month ban on all demonstrations. While the official civil rights association was reluctant to challenge the ban, the nationalist community responded by heightened protest, including a rent and rates strike which attracted the support of some 40,000 households.

This rent and rates strike involved the use of window posters and street committees, much like the poll tax resistance today. The aftermath of the strike involved the bringing in of laws allowing direct deductions from benefits to cover debts, the very same laws that are now being used against non-payers in Britain.

If internment was supposed to suppress protest it was a drastic failure. As October came, the rent and rates strike snowballed into a non-payment of TV, radio and car licences, road tax, ground rent, electricity, gas and hire purchase with the result that local government came to a standstill. Any attempt to use bailiffs or to cut off services were opposed by organised community action.

By the end of December, groups of people together with Peoples Democracy (a left-wing, mainly student based group, heavily involved with the civil rights movement) planned to defy the ban on public demonstrations and organised a march from Belfast to Long Kesh (where internees were kept) on Christmas day. It was against this background that tens of thousands of people attended a civil rights demonstration in Derry on Sunday 30th January.

The march left the Creggan and headed off towards the rally in Rossville Street. The marchers were prevented from entering the Guildhall Square by barbed wire barriers. During the rally the British army responded to some stones being thrown by using CS gas and water cannon. By 4.15, army tactics began to change and stragglers who arrived late began to flee at the sight of the

advancing paratroopers. The Paras then took up firing positions and began to shoot. The 14 people who were killed were either fleeing or trying to surrender.

The 14 dead were:
Patrick Doherty (30);
Gerald Donahy (17);
Jack Duddy (17);
Hugh Gilmore (17);
John Johnstone;
Michael Kelly (17);
Michael McDaid (21);
Kevin McElhinny (17);
Bernard (41);
Gerald McKinny;
William McKinny (27);
William Nash (19);
James Joseph Wray (23);
John Young (17).

The effects of this trauma are still being felt. In the South of Ireland, upon hearing the news, a spontaneous mass demonstration march to the British Embassy in Dublin and, despite the futile efforts of the Gardaí to restrain the crowd, burnt it to the ground. World opinion was outraged, and the British government was sufficiently embarrassed to launch a special enquiry into the "affair", headed by Colin Wallace.

That the enquiry was nothing more than a white wash can be seen from what Fred Holtroyd (ex-British Army intelligence officer) has to say: "... This ties up with what Colin Wallace has said, Wallace said when he was involved with the tribunal they would have a rehearsal everyday before they actually went into court with the soldiers and NCO's who were involved and they would actually go through a duplicate of the day's proceedings so that all those people went in there they couldn't be expected to be caught out with any questions which might reveal anything other than what the army wanted revealed."

19 years on people in Ireland and in Britain still march every year to remember those 14 people shot down by the state for protesting for civil rights.

This year the Bloody Sunday commemoration march is on Saturday 26 January, assemble Hyde Park 12 noon, march to rally in Kilburn. Contact Committee for British Withdrawal From Ireland, Box 353, London NW5 4NH for more details.

PRISONERS LIST

REMAND PRISONERS

DANIEL ATTWOOD, KT1303 Latchmere House Remand Centre, Church Rd., Ham Common, Richmond, Surrey, TW10 5HH. Arrested 20th October in Brixton. Charged Section 2 and Section 4 POA and Criminal Damage.

MARCUS B. ROSKILLY, KT1294 HMP Brixton, Jebb Ave, London, SW2 5XF. Arrested 20th October in Brixton. Charged Section 3 POA. At the time of writing Marcus is about to face trial so his circumstances will probably change.

STOP THE SHOW TRIALS

PAUL JACOB, RA0711 HMP Brixton, Jebb Ave, London, SW2 5XF. Arrested 31st March in Trafalgar Square. Charged Section 1, Section 2, GBH. Paul is a traveller and his home and all his worldly possessions were in two vans which have since been towed away and destroyed. There is now a fund being set up by a supporter in Aylesbury to collect money for Paul to get a new van/home when he gets out. The address is: Box S. 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.

PRISONERS SUPPORT GROUP

The TSDC Prisoners Support Group was set up around the end of October to support those imprisoned for the poll tax demos in March and October. Obviously, the group could have done with being established sooner, but somehow prisoners' needs got overlooked in the rush to trace witnesses for the 31st, prepare cases and fundraise. But now that the group is up and running it has become one of the most active components of the TSDC.

We have a regular weekly meeting to discuss the various prisoners being supported and we are slowly learning the best way to deal with things. An early problem was caused by "advertising" all the prisoners without consulting them, which resulted in an irate inmate demanding to be taken off the list, so now we write to every prisoner first to discover their wishes.

We organise a rota every meeting for visiting the remand prisoners so that they get maximum visiting rights, send £10 per month to every inmate for their "private spends", and, of course, are regularly updating the list,

which at present is changing on an almost weekly basis. The list gets mailed out to all contacts with detailed info on the back on the best way to support the poll tax prisoners, plus advice to phone the TSDC office before you do anything in order to get the latest news. Supporting poll tax prisoners is vital - if they weren't inside it could be you instead!

We urge everyone to send letters of solidarity at the very least and some anti-poll tax groups are now adopting prisoners: ie pledging to write on a regular basis, and send books, magazines etc. Fundraising too is vital - prisoners cost money! Donations to TSDC should specify if the money is to be used for prisoners otherwise it'll end up going into general funds.

We guarantee that every penny raised for prisoners goes directly towards helping them. If you're interested in the work of the prisoners group come along to a meeting and find out how you can help, or drop us a line or call the office if you are outside London.

Louise, TSDC Prisoners Group

CONVICTED PRISONERS

NEIL HARDING, MV1333 HMP Brixton, Jebb Ave, London, SW2 5XF. Both Neil and Alan were arrested and convicted for charges relating to the demonstrations in Hackney against the setting of the poll tax level, earlier this year. Sentenced to 8 months. EDR Jan 18 1991, not long to go now!

ALAN CLARKE, MV2254 HMP Pentonville, Caledonian Rd., London, N7 8TT. Alan can't read so it would be best to send cards rather than letters. GBH, 2 years.

ROBERT ROBINSON aka SIMON O'REILLY, RA0741 HMP Camp Hill, Clissold Rd., Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5PB. Arrested on 31st March. Charged and convicted Section 2 POA. Sentenced 2 years. A police van ran over Roberts foot in Trafalgar Square but he was tried for kicking the police van.

WAYNE CALDER, NT0082 HMYOI Huntercombe, Huntercombe Place, Nuffield, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon RG9 5SB. Arrested 31st March in Trafalgar. Tried, convicted and sentenced to 2 years.

N.B. Sentences of 12 months or under usually get half remission, ie. someone sentenced to 3 months will normally only do 6 weeks. Sentences over 12 months people are eligible for parole after the first third of their sentence and get the last third off on remission. However remission can be lost. If in doubt phone the office.

CUSTARD PIES LEAD TO JAIL

In Nottingham last March (1990) there were anti-Poll Tax protests inside the council chamber. Two people, dressed up as Robin Hood were arrested for throwing custard pies at councillors setting the Poll Tax rate.

Keith Duncombe (JH2569) and Guy Waddingham (JH2568) were sentenced to one month jail each on 8th January 1991. ...HMP Lincoln, Greetwell Road, Lincoln.

NEITHER "SCUM" NOR "PORRIDGE"

Where to start about imprisonment? I could rant on for the length of this article and more about that a bastard Roger Davies (Horseferry Road magistrate) is and how he should be hung from Nelson's Column by his thumbs for what he did to me and several others. But that's not what I'm setting out to do. I want to say something optimistic to reassure people that being banged up isn't as bad as some would have us believe but at the same time I don't want anyone to think I'm justifying my imprisonment on the passing whim of the C.P.S., the aforementioned Davies and certain cops.

Firstly, let me tell you a little background info. I was sentenced to 3 months for threatening behaviour after March 31st and served six and a half weeks in youth custody, most of which was as pleasant as can be expected under the circumstances. It did have its low points and admittedly during my time,

I experienced the full range of negative emotions and at the very worst points, irrational fears but thankfully none of these set in. Like, I suspect, many of the defendants who are awaiting the outcome of their trials, I had no experience of the prison system and my idea of Young Offenders' Institutes was largely derived from the film "Scum" and other such sources and believe me, 3 months looked a fucking long time from that angle. So there's lesson No. 1. Don't believe the hype. In reality it was pretty much one long stretch of intensified boredom sporadically interrupted by meals and wing cleaning and not socks full of PPs to the head and pans of boiling water in the face as some might have us believe.

Another belief that is important to dispel is that being a "Poll Tax rioter" puts you in line for adverse treatment. In my opinion, it's fair to say that screws are a lot nearer to being normal human beings, or if you prefer, members of the general public than cops and as such their opinion of the Community Charge holds with that of the aforementioned and as such many will respect you for the stand you've taken and certainly won't see it as a reason to treat you especially badly.

However with inmates, in my case at least, there was a whole different story and in many cases when I told them what my charge was, I might have well been telling them that I had run around

Trafalgar Square wearing a red nose and with my trousers down...i.e. ridicule. However, this was mainly due to the fact that I was in for an unusual reason and I was the first Trafalgar Square victim to make it to this particular institution and it must be said that I never came in for any malicious piss-taking or the like and it calmed down after a couple of weeks.

It is true that I came into contact with a lot more machismo behaviour than I'm used to. Obviously this only applies to male nicks as for that matter does the whole article as I've no idea what the female equivalents are like. But it did affect me for at least a week after my release but again nothing to worry about, which I hope is the attitude which is coming out over the length of this piece.

On the practical side of things, there's not a lot of advice I can give those of you looking at a stretch that wouldn't be

patronising as you really learn everything you need to in the first week or so. Maybe take a few quid with you to put into your private spends if you are unlucky enough to get sent down as it comes in really handy. I can't emphasise enough how important it is for defendant's friends to write and visit as outside contact is worth its weight in gold.

Hopefully, I might've made one or two of you less wary of what's in store which is no reason to be complacent and stop fighting but if you do get sent down, try and keep your head high and your heart strong, hopefully time'll fly by and everyone gets out sometime.

Craig
Ex-Defendant from March 31st 1990

PRISON "RIOTERS" VINDICATED

Jury Refuse to Convict

On October 12th last year, after a 5 month trial, all 20 Risley prisoners charged with riot and criminal damage during their 3-day uprising and takeover of Risley Remand Centre (May 1-3rd 1988) were vindicated due to the refusal of the jury to condemn or convict.

The defendants explained that they were entitled to protest effectively (sit-ins, rooftop occupation etc.) against inhuman conditions, and to defend themselves (barricades, tiles etc.) when attacked by the screws and MUFTI squads.

So despite all the efforts of the authorities to violently retake the prison (this was repulsed, and the prisoner's demands were conceded), to rubbish the protestors as "drug-crazed" and "led by psychopaths", to disperse the participants and to charge them with offences carrying up to 20 year sentences - they failed.

The prisoners' success in exposing the truth about the prison led to the Home Office official enquiry recommending the jail be closed

down - the report was suppressed but the message was already getting through.

Despite overwhelming odds during the trial, especially the clear bias of the judge, the 12 jurors unanimously backed the defendants. This success is down to the prisoners' determination, collective defence and solidarity, and public disgust with prison conditions in general after constant jail protests.

It shows what can be achieved.

"With the MUFTI on the ground floor corridor rushing up the stairs we had a serious head-on confrontation - we were seriously concerned for our safety, given the squad's reputation for gross violence and brutality, we were faced with the stark choice of either waiting passively to be brutalised and violated, or resisting and defending ourselves by any means necessary. we took the latter course".

Wadi Williams
one of the Risley 54

TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEFENDANTS' CAMPAIGN AFFILIATES

ANTI-POLL TAX GROUPS

Abercromby APTU
Aberdeen APTU
Abeyhill APT Group
Adwood APTU
All Scottish APT Federation
Avon Fed of APTU's
Aylesbury Vale APTU
Barnsley Campaign ATPT
Basingstoke APTU
Bath University APTU
Beacon Lough APTU
Bedminster APTU
Borstal APTU
Bridgwater APTU
Broughton APTG
Broughton/Inverleith APTU
Burnley APTU
Cambridge APT Campaign
Camden Stop The Poll Tax
Canton APT Group
Chorlton APTU
Cinderford APTU
Clapton APTU
Clifton / Hotwells APTU
Colchester ATPT
Craylands APTU
Crooksmoor ATPT
Doncaster APT Campaign
East Herts APTU
East Oxford APT
Easton APTU
Elswick & Benwell ATPT
Gravesend APTU
Greenwich ATPT
Hackney ATPT Fed
Hammersmith & Fulham APT
Haringey APTU
Haymarket/Tollcross APTC
Headingley APT Campaign
Heeley ATPT
Hertfordshire APT Fed
Highfields APTU
Hornsey APT
Hunters Bar APT
Ibrix-Cessnock ATPT
Isle of Dogs APTU
Islington ATPT
Kettering APTU
Kingsdown APTU
Ladywell APTU
Leeds Fed of APT Groups
Leicestershire APT Fed
Leith APTU
Lewisham APTU
Lincoln APT Campaign
Llandrindod APTU
London APT Fed
Long Eaton APTC
Longsight ATPT
Merchiston/Moningside APTU
Middlesborough ATPT
Middlesex Students ATPT
Mulhouse CRAPT
Newtown APTU
Nightingale APTU
Norwich APTU
Nottingham APT Fed
Pembury ATPT
Peterborough APTU
Pitstop
Plymouth APT Fed

Pollokshields ATPT
Prestonfield CRAPT
Pudsey APTU
Reading APT Coordination
Rochester APTU
Rotherham APT Federation
Rugby APTU
Sciennes/Marchmont APTU
Sheffield APTU
Southville & Ashton APTU
Spilott & Adamsdown APTU
St Albans ATPT
St Andrews APTU
St Werburghs APTU
Stamford Hill APTG
Stockbridge-Newtown APTG
Stockport APT Federation
Strood APTU
Sunderland Central APTG
Sutton ATPT
Swindon APT Fed
TME Cmte. of the Belper APTU
Taunton Deane APTU
Tower Hamlets ATPT
Town Fields & Wheatley APT
Undercliffe APTU
Victoria APTU
W10/W11 APT Campaign
Waltham Forest No Poll Tax
Wandsworth ATPT
Warrington APTU
Watford APTU
West Hampstead APTU
Winchester ATPT
Wirral APTF
York Against the Poll Tax

TRADE UNIONS

Barnsley TUC
Barrow Trade Union Council
Bath TUC
Bloomsbury Nalga (Health)
Brighton, Hove & District TUC
CPSA, DHSS Central Branch
Camden Teachers' Assoc
Camden Trades Council
East London Teachers Ass (NUT)
GMB TU 200
Hackney Nalga
Hammersmith & Fulham TC
Haringey TUC
Haringey Nalga (Local Gov.)
Hyndburn TUC
Knowsley Nalga
Lambeth TUC
Leeds Area Teachers' Ass. NUT
Leicester & District TUC
Llanelli Trades Council
MSF 245 Branch
MSF St. Pancras Branch
Newcastle U.T. TUC
Newton Aycliffe & District TUC
North Staffs. Trades Council
Rank and File Teachers
Swindon TUC
Southwark Trades Council
T&GWU Region No. 1
TGWU 1/250 London Taxi Drivers
TGWU 6/538
Tameside Nalga
Tameside TUC

V.O. Branch NALGO
Wirral Trades Council
Wisbech and District TUC
Yorks Trade Council

Other Organisations

Advisory Service for Squatters
Bradford ABC
Class War Federation
Cleveland NCCL Group
Deptford DAM & IWA
East London Red Action
Greenleaf (Quarterly)
Hackney CDA
Hackney Solidarity Group
Hammersmith SWP
Haringay Senior Citizens CC
International Socialist League
Lancaster Anarchists
Anonymous
TME Cmte. of the Belper APTU
Leeds ABC
Leeds Anarchists
Lewisham Women & Empl.
Proj.
Liverpool Anarchists
London ABC
London Anarchist Communist Fed
London Greenpeace
London Institute Student Union
London Labour Briefing
London RCG
Manchester Class War
Manchester Socialist Outlook
Mutual Aid Centre
NUS London
Newham Green Party
Northern Counter-Information
Nottingham Defence Fund

Oxford PTRSG
Plymouth Solidarity Group
Plymouth Sutton Labor Party
SE Region DAM
Southampton Anarchists
Southampton Class War
Stirling Anarchists
Sunpower Books & Crafts
The Inmates
U.U.
Unemployed Workers Charter
Workers Power

Overseas Organisations

Ageppa
Autonome Bibliothek
Brand (magazine)
Blitz Bookshop
Coffee-shop Bollocks
Ermittlungsausschuss
La Procedure
Nabate
Network
Uitkeringsgerechtigden
Odessa Helsinki Group
Ravage (Newspaper)
Viva
Warzone
Wolniza

Plus many, many individuals.

Apolgies if your organisation has been left out. Of course if you haven't affiliated

I/We wish to affiliate to the Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign:
Name of Organisation/Individual:

Address:

Phone:

Contact Person:

£5 — Local,
£10 — District,
£25 — Regional & TUs

Donations desperately needed, more than ever with people facing possible life sentences in the Crown Courts.

Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign
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Tel: 071-833-8958